42: Walsh K-4,5 (no date) 1970 OU9 Tonga OU9

population movement and the rapidity and extent of its growth since 1956 are likely to have important consequences which will bear heavily on traditional political, social and economic customs and practices throughout the kingdom. Until the mid-1950s, population movement was more especially to rural Tongatapu rather than to Nuku'alofa. Thus during this period (1931-56) Nuku'alofa's annual growth rate (5.2 percent) was less than that of rural Tongatapu (6.3 percent), but since then the growth rate of Nuku'alofa (7.4 percent) has exceeded that of rural Tongatapu (5.3 percent). The most urban part of the town, Kolofo'ou, grew at an even faster rate (8.6 percent) while nearby Havelu Loto, the centre of the only sizeable industry on the island,[17] grew at the fantastic annual rate of 35.7 percent between 1956 and 1966. Where village growth exceeded or nearly approximated that of Nuku'alofa, it was either in very small villages, where an influx of a handful of settlers would give apparently spectacular increases, or in settlements to the centre and east of the island for reasons noted above. In 1956 Nuku'alofa contained 29 percent of Tongatapu's population and 16 percent of that of the kingdom; in 1966 these percentages had risen to 33 and 20 respectively.[18] This demonstrates both the increasing importance of Nuku'alofa in terms of total population and the marked tendency for population movement to Tongatapu to be urban-orientated.

Factors *pushing* people out of the outer islands and *pulling* them towards Tongatapu and Nuku'alofa are: the greater opportunities for social mobility in recent years: the changing economic needs of the average Tongan; easier transport between islands; and, more recently, the advertising (over the Tongan radio) of the attractions of Nuku'alofa; overpopulation; land tied up in title disputes and in other ways kept back from distribution; the low price for copra; two hurricanes in the northern islands in 1961 and 1963; and the decimation of the banana by black leaf streak and other diseases in Vava'u. If one single cause can sum up these various and interrelated factors, it is the need for money.[19]

It is not possible to know which islands and villages have recently contributed most to Nuku'alofa's growth, for the 1966 census contained no special statistics on towns. The following remarks, therefore, are based mainly on information extracted from the 1956 census sorting

[17] Quasi-government industries producing coconut by-products and furniture.

[18] Of the other two towns, Neiafu contained 23 percent of the Vava'u population in 1956 and 26 percent in 1966; the respective figures for Pangai-Hihifo were 28 and 25 percent. Neiafu grew at an annual rate of 2.5 percent; Pangai-Hihifo lost population (—0.5 percent p.a.)

[19] Walsh (1964): 179-197 discusses migrants' reasons for moving to Nuku'alofa. Some implications of these factors are discussed below. See 'Mobility and Economic Development.'